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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3470

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 BELGRADE 7928

FOR EUR/RPM, EUR/SOV FROM USDEL CSCE

CINCEUR FOR POLAD

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, OCON

SUBJ: BELGRADE CSCE: WEEKLY HIGHLIGHTS, NOVEMBER 7 - 11.

SUMMARY: WORKING BODIES WENT RELATIVELY QUIETLY THROUGH
THEIR TASKS ON ALL BASKETS WHILE SPOTLIGHT SHIFTED TO
PLENARY WHERE AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG MADE MAJOR SPEECH
NOVEMBER 9 SUMMARIZING RESULTS OF FIRST SIX WEEKS. HIS
CRITICISMS OF SOVIET AND CZECHOSLOVAK GOVERNMENTS DREW
THOSE DELEGATIONS OUT FOR FIRST TIME INTO REAL DISCUSSION
OF HUMAN RIGHTS. AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG REBUTTED A NUMBER
OF THEIR SPECIFIC CRITICISMS OF US HUMAN RIGHTS RECORD,
BUT WELCOMED THEIR WILLINGNESS TO LET NON-INTERVENTION
ARGUMENT FALL AND BEGIN TO TALK ABOUT ISSUES BASIC TO
FINAL ACT AND TO DETENTE. WHILE WESTERN SPEAKERS
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MADE CLEAR THAT THEY WOULD RETURN AS APPROPRIATE
THROUGHOUT MEETING TO IMPLEMENTATION QUESTIONS, WORKING
BODIES HAVE ALMOST COMPLETED THEIR RUN-THROUGH OF
IMPLEMENTATION AND ARE READY TO GO INTO NEGOTIATION OF
NEW PROPOSALS OF WHICH, AFTER EAST ADDED MORE THAN A
DOZEN NOVEMBER 11, THERE ARE NOW MORE THAN 70. GIVEN
WIDE DISPARITY IN NATURE OF PROPOSALS INTRODUCED THUS

FAR BY EAST AND WEST, IT REMAINS FAR FROM CLEAR HOW
MEANINGFUL A PACKAGE CAN BE NEGOTIATED. END SUMMARY.

1. PLENARY -- THERE WERE TWO LEVELS OF PLENARY
THROUGHOUT WEEK. IN ONE, DELEGATIONS CONTINUED SEPARATELY
TO TABLE AND EXPLAIN THEIR NEW PROPOSALS; IN OTHER,
US ENGENDERED FIRST SEMBLANCE OF REAL DIALOGUE WITH
SOVIETS AND CZECHS ON HUMAN RIGHTS. AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG
DELIVERED A MAJOR STATEMENT NOVEMBER 9 THAT SUMMARIZED
FIRST SIX WEEKS OF WORK, INCLUDING EXPERIENCE WITH
REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION. HE NOTED NUMBER OF AREAS OF
PROGRESS BUT REPEATED US CONCERN ABOUT SOVIET-CZECH
HUMAN RIGHTS RECORD, MENTIONING EXPLICITLY ORLOV,
GINSBERG, SHCHARANSKY AND FOUR US JOURNALISTS WHOM
CZECHS HAD EXPELLED OR DENIED ENTRY. BRIEFLY THAT DAY
AND THEN IN CONSIDERABLE DETAIL NOVEMBER 11, BOTH
SOVIETS AND CZECHS RESPONDED WITH ATTACKS ON
US DOMESTIC HUMAN RIGHTS RECORD. THEIR THEME
WAS THE US WAS HYPOCRITICALLY USING HUMAN RIGHTS TO
INTERVENE IN AFFAIRS OF OTHERS AND TO DIVERT BELGRADE
MEETING FROM SERIOUS TASK OF BUILDING DETENTE. SOVIETS
BACKED AWAY, HOWEVER, FROM THEIR MID-WEEK WARNING THAT
US WOULD BEAR RESPONSIBILITY FOR POSSIBLE "RUPTURE"
OF MEETING. IN APPARENT EFFORT TO DEMONSTRATE TYPES OF
TASKS THAT SOVIETS AND THEIR ALLIES BELIEVE MEETING
SHOULD CONCENTRATE UPON, THEY SURPRISED PLENARY BY
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TABLING MORE THAN A DOZEN NEW PROPOSALS, MOSTLY IN
BASKET THREE AREA BUT EITHER INNOCUOUS SUCH AS PROPOSAL
FOR FURTHERING STUDY OF SMALLER LANGUAGES, OR DIFFICULT
FOR WEST TO ACCEPT SUCH AS PROPOSALS TO REGULATE
ACTIVITIES OF JOURNALISTS OR TO FORBID WAR PROPAGANDA.
SWISS REP NOTED THAT EAST HAS AT LEAST APPARENTLY
ABANDONED THEME THAT PRINCIPLE OF NON-INTERVENTION IN
INTERNAL AFFAIRS BARS DISCUSSION OF HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEMS
AT BELGRADE. AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG WELCOMED BEGINNING OF
DIALOGUE WHICH HE SAID SHOULD BE CONDUCTED CIVILLY AND
WITHOUT THREATS OR WARNINGS. PLENARY ALSO APPROVED NEW
FIVE-WEEK WORK PROGRAM FOR MEETING, THROUGH DECEMBER 16
WHICH VIRTUALLY DUPLICATES WORK PROGRAM OF PAST FEW
WEEKS.

2. BASKET ONE (PRINCIPLES) - WORKING BODY WILL RESUME
CONSIDERATION OF PRINCIPLES WEEK OF NOVEMBER 14 WITH

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ALLIED AND NEUTRAL/NON-ALIGNED DELS ESTIMATING THAT THEY
WILL REQUIRE A FEW MORE DAYS TO COMPLETE DISCUSSION OF
LAST THREE PRINCIPLES (SELF-DETERMINATION, COOPERATION,
FULFILLMENT OF INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS) BEFORE TURNING
TO NEW PROPOSALS.

3. BASKET ONE (CBMS). SECOND WEEK OF CBMS DEBATE MOVED
DISCUSSION FROM REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION TO GENERAL
CONSIDERATION OF NEW MEASURES. WARSAW PACT SPEAKERS,
IN STATEMENTS SHARPLY DISPUTED BY BOTH NATO AND NEUTRAL/
NONALIGNED REPS, REITERATED FAMILIAR ARGUMENTS AGAINST
ANY EXPANSION OF CBMS BUT LEFT DOOR OPEN A CRACK BY
SAYING THEY WOULD CONTINUE TO STUDY PROPOSALS. ROMANIA
STUCK TO INDEPENDENT LINE, WELCOMING DISCUSSION OF ALL
NEW CBM AND OTHER MILITARY SECURITY PROPOSALS. SPONSORS
AND SUPPORTERS OF ALLIED AND NEUTRAL/NONALIGNED PROPOSALS
ON CBMS BEGAN GENERAL ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF THEIR
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RESPECTIVE APPROACHES TO SPECIFIC ISSUES, AND AT WEEK'S
END SET UP INFORMAL CONTACT GROUP TO EXPLORE AREAS OF

AGREEMENT AND DIFFERENCE IN GREATER DETAIL. NEUTRAL AND NONALIGNED GROUP TABLED RESOLUTION LANGUAGE ON DISARMAMENT WHICH INITIAL REACTIONS INDICATED MAY HAVE BROAD ACCEPTANCE AS BASIS FOR NEGOTIATION. SOVIETS AND THEIR ALLIES CONTINUED TO COMMEND TO ATTENTION OF CONFERENCE SOVIET "PROGRAM OF ACTION" TO COMPLETE MILITARY DETENTE, BUT WITHOUT GIVING ANY FURTHER DETAILS OF ITS NEW ELEMENTS. IN CORRIDORS, SOME NEUTRAL/NONALIGNED DELEGATIONS SHOWED INTEREST IN SOVIET PROPOSAL TO LIMIT SIZE OF MANEUVERS BUT WITHHELD COMMENT IN CONFERENCE SESSIONS, APPARENTLY AWAITING NATO REACTION. MOST NATO COUNTRIES REMAINED WITHOUT INSTRUCTIONS ON NEW ELEMENTS OF SOVIET PROGRAM. HOWEVER, ON NOVEMBER 11, WITH ONLY LAST-MINUTE WARNING TO ALLIED CBMS CAUCUS AND DESPITE WARNING BY SEVERAL CAUCUS MEMBERS THAT STATEMENT WOULD BE PREMATURE, FRENCH REP DISMISSED OUT OF HAND SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR EUROPE-WIDE "SPECIAL JOINT CONSULTATIONS" ON SECURITY AND INDICATED PROPOSAL TO LIMIT SIZE OF MANEUVERS FELL OUTSIDE AREA OF CBMS AND COMPETENCE OF CSCE.

4. BASKET TWO -- WORKING GROUP FINISHED FINAL WEEK DEVOTED PRIMARILY TO REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION. REVIEW HAS BEEN THOROUGH IN USDEL'S VIEW, POINTS HAVING BEEN PURSUED AGGRESSIVELY AND OCCASIONALLY APPROXIMATION OF DEBATE HAS BEEN REACHED. US, EC-9, NATO AND MANY NEUTRAL DELS HAVE RECOUNTED CHAPTER AND VERSE OF OBSTACLES TO TRADE RAISED BY NON-MARKET ECONOMIES. IN SOME CASES THERE SEEMS TO BE A WILLINGNESS TO LISTEN, ALTHOUGH PROOF OF PUDDING WILL BE IN HOW NEW PROPOSALS TREATED.

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5. DISCUSSIONS PAST WEEK HAVE INCLUDED LESS THAN ROUSING STATEMENTS ON TRANSPORT AND TOURISM. ONLY HEATED EXCHANGE CAME WHEN SOVIETS TOOK UMBRAGE AT STATEMENTS BY BELGIAN (EC-9) REP CONCERNING LACK OF RECIPROCITY AND MUTUAL ADVANTAGE IN TRANSPORT, SPECIFICALLY INABILITY OF WESTERN HAULERS TO GET RETURN CARGOES AND CERTAIN PRICING PRACTICES. REVISED MIGRANT LABOR PROPOSAL TABLED NOVEMBER 11 BY GREECE, ITALY, PORTUGAL, SPAIN, TURKEY AND YUGOSLAVIA (TEXT SEPTEL). IN DEBATE SPONSORING COUNTRIES MADE THEIR POINTS BY INFERENCE AGAINST RECEIVING COUNTRIES (BASICALLY EC-9) IN ORDER TO AVOID IMPRESSION OF NATO DISUNITY.

6. ON BASIS OF INFORMAL NON-AGREEMENT, IT LOOKS AS IF UPCOMING WORK ON NEW PROPOSALS WILL BE DIVIDED INTO ONE-TO-TWO WEEKS OF GENERAL STATEMENTS PRIOR TO GOING INTO

ACTUAL DRAFTING. UNDER TERMS OF ORIGINAL "GENTLEMEN'S
NON-AGREEMENT" IT WILL STILL BE POSSIBLE TO BRING UP
IMPLEMENTATION IN COURSE OF DISCUSSION OF NEW PROPOSALS.
NEW BULGARIAN PROPOSAL (SEPTEL) BRINGS TOTAL OF BASKET II
NEW PROPOSALS TO 23.

7. MEDITERRANEAN -- MALTESE SPENT WEEK TRYING TO GET
FULL-SCALE DEBATE GOING ON THEIR PROPOSAL TO ESTABLISH
PERMANENT MEDITERRANEAN COMMITTEE LOCATED IN VALLETTA
AND INCLUDING SOUTHERN LITTORAL STATES.
YUGOSLAV, SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE REPS EXPRESSED
SOME GENERAL SUPPORT, BUT MOST DELS HUNG BACK. US,
NORWEGIAN, AND BELGIAN REPS EXPRESSED VARYING DEGREES OF
OPPOSITION, AND SOVIET REP CONFINED HIS REMARKS TO
EXPOSITION OF FAMILIAR VIEWS ON AREA POLITICAL PROBLEMS.
MOST SIGNIFICANT POTENTIAL CONVERT -- THOUGH IN VERY
LIMITED FASHION -- WAS FRENCH REP WHO SAID MALTESE
PROPOSAL WAS TOO AMBITIOUS AND SECURITY-ORIENTED BUT
WHO PROPOSED THAT BELGRADE MEETING CONSIDER RECOMMENDING
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THAT PARTICIPATING AND NON-PARTICIPATING MEDITERRANEAN STATES HOLD POST-BELGRADE GATHERING TO DEVELOP PROPOSALS ON TECHNICAL SUBJECTS THAT MIGHT BE REFERRED TO NEXT FOLLOW-UP MEETING.

8. BASKET THREE -- DISCUSSION ON EDUCATION CONSUMED FULL WEEK. FOR MOST PART DELEGATES DESCRIBED THEIR EXCHANGE PROGRAMS, LANGUAGE TRAINING PROGRAMS AND ACCESS TO RESEARCH MATERIALS. MOST ALSO LISTED OBSTACLES PRESENT IN EAST-WEST EXCHANGES. TWO INTERVENTIONS, ONE BY CANADIAN REP CRITICAL OF SOVIET LIMITATIONS AND ONE BY BELGIAN REP RAISING SHARP QUESTIONS ABOUT INTERNAL SOVIET AND CZECHOSLOVAK DISCRIMINATORY PRACTICES KICKED OFF OVER-AGGRESSIVE SOVIET REPLIES AND FLURRY OF RESPONSES. MOST SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENT OF WEEK WAS FLOOD OF NEW PROPOSALS IN BASKET III, BRINGING TOTAL CLOSE TO FORTY IN ALL INCLUDING SEVERAL LONG, COMPLEX
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ONES. ON NOVEMBER 11 WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES ADDED A DOZEN NEW PROPOSALS COVERING FOUR TOPICS IN BASKET. COGNIZANT OF FORMIDABLE TASK AHEAD, DELEGATES ARE SEEKING METHOD WHICH WILL ENABLE THEM TO REDUCE NUMBER OF PROPOSALS, REACH AGREEMENT ON SOME AND ALSO CONTINUE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON IMPLEMENTATION. WITH MORE NEW PROPOSALS BEFORE THEM THAN MEETINGS AVAILABLE IN REMAINING LIFE OF SUBSIDIARY WORKING BODY, PROBLEM MAY BECOME CRITICAL IF AN INFORMAL PROCESS CANNOT BE ADOPTED.

8. FOLLOW-UP -- WORKING BODY RECOGNIZED THAT ITS TIME HAS NOT COME AND DID NOTHING. NATO CAUCUS DID FOCUS ON A PLACE--MADRID-- AND A GENERAL DATE--1980. IT ALSO LEARNED THAT EC-9 IS WRESTLING WITH QUESTIONS OF MODALITIES FOR NEXT MEETING. ALTERNATIVES ARE:

A) ADAPTATION OF YELLOW BOOK (PREPARATORY CONFERENCE DECISIONS) BASED ON BELGRADE EXPERIENCE TO FIT MEETING. RESULT WOULD BE ANNEXED TO CONCLUDING DOCUMENT. THIS WILL BE ABANDONED IF NEGOTIATIONS ON IT BOG DOWN.

B) ACCEPT YELLOW BOOK INTACT EXCEPT FOR CHANGING DATES; OR

C) ACCEPT YELLOW BOOK PROCEDURES MUTATIS MUTANDIS LEAVING CHANGES TO HOST COUNTRY.

IT IS CLEAR THAT ALL WANT TO AVOID A PREPARATORY MEETING, GET MOST DEFINITE POSSIBLE ARRANGEMENTS, BUT NOT GET ENMESHED IN DETAILED NEGOTIATIONS.

9. COMMENT: THERE ARE ONLY 30 WORKING DAYS LEFT UNTIL CHRISTMAS, AND MEETING IS ABOUT TO GO INTO NEW PHASE, THAT OF ACTIVE NEGOTIATION ON MORE THAN 70 NEW PROPOSALS BEFORE IT. ALLIED AND NEUTRAL/NON-ALIGNED DELS REJECTED SOVIET PROCEDURAL EFFORTS DURING WEEK TO DRAW A FIRM LINE BETWEEN REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION
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AND NEGOTIATION OF NEW PROPOSALS. THEY HAVE KEPT OPEN WESTERN RIGHT TO RETURN TO IMPLEMENTATION AT ANY POINT, WHETHER IN ORDER TO BRING IN NEW MATERIAL OR TO EXPLAIN REASONS WHY WE FEEL SOME OF OUR NEW PROPOSALS ARE NECESSARY. AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG IN PARTICULAR MADE CLEAR IN HIS NOVEMBER 11 PLENARY STATEMENT THAT THERE MAY BE NEED TO RETURN TO HUMAN RIGHTS IMPLEMENTATION QUESTIONS AT LATER STAGES. MOST DELS BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT IT IS NOW TIME FOR EMPHASIS TO SHIFT A BIT SO THAT WEST CAN CALL SOVIETS ON THEIR REPEATED CLAIMS THAT ONCE ALLEGEDLY STERILE PHASE OF IMPLEMENTATION REVIEW WAS PASSED, MEETING WOULD BE ABLE TO DO CONSTRUCTIVE WORK ON NEW PROPOSALS.

10. HOW PRODUCTIVE THAT WORK CAN ACTUALLY BE, OF COURSE, REMAINS VERY MUCH IN QUESTION. SOVIETS HAVE NOT AS YET DEMONSTRATED ANY INTEREST IN AREAS OF MAIN INTEREST TO WEST, IN PARTICULAR HUMANITARIAN COOPERATION PARTS OF BASKET THREE. INITIAL CONCLUSIONS OF EC-9 EXPERTS FROM CAPITALS WHO MET HERE BEFORE EASTERN EUROPEANS TABLED LATEST DOZEN PROPOSALS NOVEMBER 11 WAS THAT LITTLE OF SOVIET PACKAGE WAS ACCEPTABLE EXCEPT PERHAPS INNOCUOUS SEMINAR FOR RESTORERS OF EUROPEAN CULTURAL MONUMENTS AND PERHAPS SOMETHING FROM PROPOSAL TO LIMIT SIZE OF MANEUVERS AND WELL-KNOWN BREZHNEV PROPOSALS FOR BASKET TWO CONFERENCES. EC-9 EXPERTS ALSO CONTINUE TO BE VERY CONSERVATIVE ON PROPOSALS FOR POST-BELGRADE EXPERTS GROUPS THAT COULD LEAD TO "SILENT INSTITUTIONALIZATION." IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN, HOWEVER, WHETHER LARGE NUMBER OF WESTERN AND EASTERN NEW PROPOSALS THAT FOR MOST PART DEAL WITH DIFFERENT ELEMENTS OF FINAL ACT CAN BE SHAPED INTO ANY MEANINGFUL PACKAGE DEAL OR WHETHER MAIN RESULTS OF BELGRADE MEETING WILL, AT END, HAVE TO BE SOUGHT MAINLY IN FACT THAT WEST HAS BEEN CONDUCTING AND INTENDS TO CONTINUE TO CONDUCT AS NECESSARY CANDID REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION
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AND THAT CSCE PROCESS WILL CONTINUE BEYOND BELGRADE.
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